NATIONAL REVIEW

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May 17, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Will They Get Strauss?

MEDFORD EVANS

An Open Letter to the U.S. Attorney

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Kreuttner on the Court

A CARTOON

Articles and Reviews by · · · FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN
JAMES BURNHAM · PETER MINOT · ANTHONY LEJEUNE
WILLMOORE KENDALL · ROBERT PHELPS · MORRIE RYSKIND

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For the Record

Spring floods have destroyed almost 30,000 acres of crops in Yugoslavia. Resulting food shortages will increase the pressure for new U.S. aid to Tito. . . . The Reds are beginning to show their strength in Japan, where an estimated 300,000 demonstrators were mobilized on May 1. Gomulka could rally only 100,000 in Warsaw. . . . The State Department is browbeating the Civil Aeronautics Board to grant Soviet airlines a concession to fly to the United States — and to fly regularly scheduled runs across the continent! . . . Eustace Seligman, former law partner of John Foster Dulles, urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week to support UN membership for Red China — on condition it agrees to the independence of Nationalist Formosa, unification of Korea, and the release of all Americans held in China.

Representative H. R. Gross (Rep.) of Iowa has tabulated the costs of American foreign aid since July 1, 1940: $134,764,000,000. . . . The Fund for the Republic has just published a study on the threat to freedom posed by corporations, which it commissioned Scott Buchanan, a longtime critic of American business, to compile. Mr. Buchanan concludes that only a more powerful government can save Americans from the tyranny of the corporations. . . . The Ford Motor Company, which has been running at about 85 per cent of capacity, plans to cut down, beginning in the third quarter, to 50 per cent.

Clennon King, the Negro history professor at Alcorn A. & M. College in Mississippi, whose pro-segregation writings touched off a partial boycott of the college by its Negro students, has learned that his contract will not be renewed. "You are free," the college's president wrote him, "to leave the campus at any time." . . . The price of coal for Londoners has gone up for the thirty-third time since nationalization. Nevertheless, the National Union of Mineworkers is talking about a coal surplus "crisis" and suggesting that Britain reduce open-cast mining and restrict oil imports. . . . An official of the Soviet Embassy in London called on a newspaperman who was about to journey to Moscow and asked if he would take a package to a compatriot there. The cautious Englishman asked what was in the package, and for whom. The answer: two Etonian ties for Mr. Burgess.

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The WEEK

● The Hon. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. has been indicted by the grand jury.

● Is Linus Pauling, on top of everything else, a bad scientist? Or is it his passion to neutralize the military strength of the West that is causing him to make sweeping scientific generalizations that, to judge from the evidence that is now in, would embarrass a second-year chemistry student? Dr. Pauling said on April 28 that the threat from a thing called Carbon 14 is even greater than the threat from Strontium 90, and all the more urgent it is, then, to suspend nuclear tests. Three scientists from Columbia University examined Dr. Pauling's analysis in some detail in a letter to the *New York Times*, and pulverized it, concluding that the threat from Carbon 14, at the present rate of nuclear detonation, is "considerably less than that received from a luminous dialed wrist watch worn for about two hours a year." In San Francisco, Dr. Robert R. Newell, Professor Emeritus of Radiology at Sanford University, admitted that "genetically speaking, it could be true that Carbon 14 is a much greater threat than Strontium 90—but only because the genetic threat of Strontium 90 is close to zero." Dr. Newell concluded, courteously, that perhaps Dr. Pauling had lost his "sense of humor"—which is to use three words, where one would have done.

● By the signs of the past several weeks, Cairo and Washington have begun an elaborate courtship to test whether the moment for rapprochement is at hand. The happy brokers are Eugene R. Black and William Iliff of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development ("World Bank"), who have negotiated a settlement between President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the expropriated Suez Canal Company, under which Egypt will pay $81 million for the local Canal properties, the equivalent of the market price on the day before seizure. The Egyptian credit balances now blocked in this country are soon to be released, according to present indications, and Nasser will become eligible again for U.S. trade *and* aid. Meanwhile, President Nasser has just been given a triumphal welcome on his arrival in Moscow to begin a lengthy Soviet visit. "Our people know the Soviet Union stands for peace," Nasser responded to the official Communist greeters. If the phrase is familiar, it is because President Dwight Eisenhower said just about the same thing, on greeting Marshal Zhukov at Geneva.

● In a formal note to the Polish government, Secretary of State Dulles has rejected the plan put forward by Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki for the "atomic neutralization" of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany. Mr. Dulles proves convincingly that the Rapacki Plan—which has the Kremlin's urgent endorsement—since it "does not affect the central sources of power" or provide for "equitable limitation of military capabilities," could not "reduce the danger of nuclear war" but would on the contrary "perpetuate the basic cause of tension in Europe by accepting the continuation of the division of Germany." Unfortunately, Mr. Dulles' note goes on to reoffer in its place the Administration's outmoded and highly abstract disarmament package, starting with the militarily questionable "open skies inspection" idea to which General Eisenhower and his advisers seem to have become obsessively attached.

● Although the U.S. government is currently disgracing itself by maintaining an Olympian neutrality in the struggle going on in Indonesia, the rest of the world is apparently not so wholly lost to both honor and the promptings of a common-sense instinct for survival. The rebels against Indonesia's pro-Communist government have been getting sufficient help to cause insurance rates to rise on ships entering Indonesian waters. Further news from Jakarta is that Formosan Chinese have been arrested among scores of anti-Sukarno patriots. Included among the accused is Mr. S. O. Hsieh, an Indonesian citizen of Chinese descent who has worked for *Time-Life* as a correspondent. Mr. Hsieh has denied the charge that he has been a member of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. We hope that Mr. Hsieh is telling a lie in self-defense, and that he and hundreds like him are guilty of furthering the cause of Free China.

● Cyrus Eaton, the nation's Number Three Most Dependable Source for Irresponsible Statements (next after Dr. Linus Pauling and Corliss Lamont), has been at it again. American freedom, he assured Mike Wallace (in a program sponsored by the Fund for the Republic), is "in jeopardy," and for a very simple reason: we have set "scores of agencies" to work "investigating," "snooping," "informing," and "creeping up on people," with the result that Adolf Hitler himself "never had such spy organizations as we have. . . ." There are no Communists "to speak of" in the U.S. today, he went on (and if *this* isn't indecency punishable by law then what is?), except "in the mind of those of the FBI payroll." And, referring to the Pugwash scientific conference last year (he sponsored it out of the millions American institutions have made him free to make), he complimented the Russians on the "freedom" with which they entered into the discussions there. Mr. Eaton's remarks

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made the first page of the *New York Times*. Because Mr. Eaton a) carries weight? b) analyzes acutely? c) inspired the audience? d) is rich? e) is crazy? f) is a suspected Communist?; or because g) (to be filled out by the Managing Editor, *New York Times*).

● We are pleased as punch with the Hoovers. The elder Mr. Hoover has just taught his gall bladder a thing or two, and is back at the Waldorf Towers, getting ready to write his next ten books, go to the Brussels Fair to represent the United States, head another dozen or so civic and philanthropic organizations; while the younger Mr. Hoover has attained for his fine book, *Masters of Deceit,* the world's most honored spot—No. 1 on the non-fiction (yes, Mr. Oakes, non-fiction) best-seller list. The two Hoovers are not related, but they have made the name of their fathers an honorable one.

● An editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, taking a perfectly inoffensive drive through the Maryland countryside last week, spotted a sign outside what turned out to be the farm of columnist Drew Pearson. Advertised the placard: "DREW PEARSON'S BEST MANURE! BETTER THAN HIS COLUMN!" We are referring the matter to the Federal Trade Commission. If ever there was a case of indefensible claims in behalf of one's products, there it is.

An Open Letter to the U. S. Attorney

Mr. Paul Williams
United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York
United States Courthouse, Foley Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Williams:

The May 2 issue of the *New York Post* breaks the story of a "major legal row" precipitated by NATIONAL REVIEW'S open admission that it had sent to every member of the grand jury a copy of the article, "The Wheels of Justice Stop for Adam Clayton Powell Jr." The *Post* reports that you are looking into the question whether NATIONAL REVIEW violated the federal law which stipulates that "whoever attempts to influence the action or decision of any grand or petty juror of any court of the U.S., upon any issue or matter pending before the jury of which he is a member, or pertaining to his duties, by writing or sending to him any written communication in relation to such issue, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than six months or both."

Asked whether you intended to prosecute NATIONAL REVIEW, your office answered, "No comment." I found the answer reassuring, for it is the same answer you gave repeatedly over a period of fourteen months when you were being asked whether you intended to do anything about the case of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., and we all learned that "No comment" is your way of saying "No."

But just as you finally succumbed to the pressure NATIONAL REVIEW was instrumental in generating, and reconvened the grand jury, you may now succumb to pressure to take action against NATIONAL REVIEW.

And NATIONAL REVIEW pleads guilty.

We did indeed "send a written communication" to grand jurors "in relation" to a matter that "pertained to [their] duty."

The purpose of this letter is to ask whether the law can really mean what it appears to say, namely, that any communication, urging any course of action upon a grand juror, that pertains to his duties, is a misdemeanor? If NATIONAL REVIEW had written the grand jurors urging them to be punctual in attending their sessions, would that also have catapulted your office into a "major legal row"—in that we had been in touch with the jury, and urged a specific course of action relating to the jury's duties? NATIONAL REVIEW never urged the jury to indict Adam Clayton Powell Jr.: we merely asked that it investigate the abrupt suspension of the investigation you launched, and Washington arbitrarily froze. Did we, then, violate a law ourselves? Is it now the duty of the Justice Department to prosecute NATIONAL REVIEW for calling to the attention of a grand jury a delinquency of the Justice Department in relation to an investigation that lay, unfinished, before that jury?

If a 100-year-old law indeed prohibits the press from taking measures to expose an abuse of the judicial process, would you agree with us that the law ought to be changed?

We trust you will do everything in your power to persuade Congress to clarify the law, so that in the future, members of the press can feel free to urge a jury to do its duty without running the risk of going to jail.

Yours sincerely,

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

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Predictable—and Not

Joseph Pulitzer made his career as a publisher by forceful and open defiance of everything that was part of the Establishment of his time. By a not uncommon irony, however, the hand of the contemporary Establishment is all over the 41st annual Pulitzer awards in journalism, letters and music.

Here we have Walter Lippmann, that totally disengaged mind, receiving a special citation for remaining so far above the battles of the cold war that one can only see his feet poking earthward through the clouds. Here we have Harry S. Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette,* winning a prize for editorials on the Little Rock integration crisis that lacked even a tithe of the intelligence of the *Wall Street Journal* editorials on the same subject.

Moreover Mr. Ashmore's paper won a second prize for having—backed by nothing more than the entire Liberal Establishment and 5,000 fully armed paratroopers of the Army's First Pentomic Division—bearded the ferocious bandit, Orval Faubus, in his den.

But the real contest this year was over the prize for best novel. In a surprise finish, to which the previous record of the trustees has left us unaccustomed, James Agee's *A Death in the Family* passed James Cozzens' *By Love Possessed* in the stretch, and was declared the winner. It was a surprise finish not only because it ditched the most talked-about book for one that never made the best-seller list, but because Agee's book has so many of the qualities that are not found in what is accepted as modern literature. *A Death in the Family* is written with love and tenderness, with an artist's distinguishing eye unclouded by ideological blur, with moving warmth for family and place, and with reverence for religious belief. Could the Columbia trustees be hitting the sawdust trail?

Monitors and Money

Mr. Godfrey Schmidt, who took the case of the thirteen dissenting teamsters and argued the illegality of the election of Mr. James Hoffa as president of the union, is now being criticized for asking the Court to pay him a fee of $200,000. Many who are complaining that the fee is excessive are merely taking the opportunity to criticize the arrangement agreed to by Mr. Schmidt in settlement of the action. Mr. Schmidt agreed to permit Hoffa to take office as provisional president, but subject to the day-to-day supervision of three monitors, one of them designated by Hoffa, another by Judge Letts who tried the case, and the third to be Godfrey Schmidt himself.

It is too early to tell whether Mr. Schmidt acquiesced in an unworkable arrangement. Perhaps, by developing appropriate techniques to win his way—a skill he has, over the years, highly developed—Jimmy Hoffa will succeed in tyrannizing over his subjects right under the noses of Mr. Schmidt, the judge, and all. If that happens, we are certain that Mr. Schmidt himself will be the first to call a stop to the makeshift attempt to leash Hoffa. Even if that happens, recriminations will not be in order, because no one could have known that the scheme would not work. Mr. Schmidt will have experimented, and lost: and then he can go back, and slug it out with Hoffa, till he drops.

But we detect a base demagogy in some of the criticisms of Mr. Schmidt's fee. It is up to Judge Letts to decide whether it is a reasonable fee under the circumstances—the circumstances being that Mr. Schmidt, a busy lawyer, spent virtually all his time for eight months on the case, agreeing to do without compensation if he should lose; and that he is obliged to split the fee with his partners and other associates. If Judge Letts decides the fee is reasonable, the money will come from Little Fort Knox—the $40,000,000 Teamster Treasury. We do not know what the big lawyers are getting these days for big cases. We do know what Mr. Hoffa promises to pay *his* lawyer, and it exceeds substantially what Mr. Schmidt is asking of the court. NATIONAL REVIEW, for one, does not take the position that substantial fees are in order only if one sides *with* the union.

Phony Teachers' Guild

Does the American Association of University Professors take adequate action against "violators of academic freedom"? Does it fail to "follow through" in protecting teachers against "unfair practices"?

Note the phrasing of the questions, which are taken from a piece of "straight" reporting on the education page of the *New York Times.* The tacit premises: 1) a university that incurs the Association's displeasure is *eo ipso* a "violator of academic freedom," and 2) a finding by the Association that a "practice" is "unfair" makes that practice unfair.

The AAUP, far from being what it pretends to be, is merely an association of 10,000 university professors. It was captured, many years ago, by academic-freedom extremists who have attempted to put over axioms about the teacher's relation to his university, to his society, and to truth that, in our own view at least, will not bear even the most casual critical examination; and, in the recent struggle over the Fifth Amendment, it has lent powerful support (for despite its small membership it *is* powerful) to those who would undermine our internal security. For all three reasons the presumption, when a dispute

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arises between the Association and a university, is *not* on the side of the Association. And it behooves all of us, therefore, to examine each and every such dispute on its merits.

No one, we trust, will understand us to wish the nation's teachers to be left wholly at the mercy of the administrators of its institutions of higher learning. On the contrary, we shall always need a national organization of professional scholars that, proceeding from a carefully considered position concerning an ordered academic freedom, would invoke sanctions against genuinely offensive institutions. That organi-

Cartoon by John D. Kreuttner

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zation would have to be—as the AAUP is not—as far above suspicion as Caesar's wife herself. Perhaps one will emerge which the community can take seriously.

As Others See Us and Him

From *Le Monde* (April 20-21, 1958): "The professor Robert Oppenheimer arrives this afternoon at Paris . . . . He will make at the faculty of sciences of Paris . . . a series of conferences in English on 'the description of particles and the elementary interactions' . . . He descends in a little hotel in the Rue Cassette. . . .

"Designated in 1943 to direct at Los Alamos the activities looking to the production of an atomic bomb . . . he was already the object of an investigation by the FBI *which was to establish his complete loyalty*. . . . Moved by the growth of Nazism, Oppenheimer, in point of fact, had established before 1939 close relations *with certain elements* on the Left. Other inquiries subsequently confirmed that first verdict. . . .

"It was, however, a veritable orthodoxy trial that was on him attempted early in 1954. The Affaire Oppenheimer produced all the greater a sensation because *no charge could be brought against the learned man*. On the contrary, his loyalty was conceded once more. What was he being accused of? Strange though it seem, nobody knew—at least nobody answered—with precision. . . . It remains true, to be sure, that Oppenheimer was declared a risk of security and removed from all official activities. . . . But Oppenheimer, even outside government, has lost none of his authority. On the contrary, his personality and his demeanor have on him rapidly conferred a genuine prestige in the American universities, where one admires in him not only the man of science but also the humanist."

Yup, italics ours.

Our Contributors: MEDFORD EVANS ("Will They Get Strauss?"), whom our readers will remember for his "Open Letter to Dr. Oppenheimer" (March 9, 1957) and other contributions, served for eight years with the Atomic Energy Commission. He is the author of *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*. . . . MORRIE RYSKIND ("*Obiter Dicta* on the Inside Story") is, besides being one of NATIONAL REVIEW's most popular contributors, the author of various Broadway hits, one of which, *Of Thee I Sing*, was a Pulitzer prize-winner . . . FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN ("Ortega's Cosmic Hospital"), author of a distinguished biography of Belloc and frequent contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, is at present in Europe on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Obiter Dicta on the Inside Story

Before the balloting on the Kennedy-Douglas Bill, Lyndon Johnson and Jack Kennedy conferred secretly with Al Hayes, head of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, and asked whether any of the Knowland amendments was acceptable. Hayes said labor wanted no new laws which would affect union activity in any fashion. The three then spoke long-distance to George Meany, who also rejected any compromise.

Then Johnson, fearing some conservative Democratic defection, attacked the Knowland proposals as anti-labor and announced that the union chiefs had agreed to cooperate later on "a reasonable labor bill to come out of committee in sixty days." Thus reassured, ten liberal Republicans joined the opposition to defeat the amendments, while Frank Lausche was the only Democrat to line up with Knowland. It appears certain to observers that there will be no new labor laws this year.

—Digest of reports from Victor Riesel, *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Spirit of '76

When the Continental Congress drew a bill to cope with treason,
General Arnold said he'd back it if they kept it within reason.

Recipe for Nervous Senators

When crookedness and knavery have caused your blood to boil,
Upon the troubled waters pour some Lyndon Johnson oil:
From *medulla oblongata* to your very *solar plexus*,
Your state will be euphoria (another name for Texas).
You'll contemplate your navel with a satisfaction deep
And give your vote to Lyndon while your conscience goes to sleep.

Profile in Courage

There was a little kennedy who wrote a little book
About some gutty Senators who had just what it took.
He bowed before their courage, and he crowned them with the bays—
But not, of course, till they'd been cleared by Meany and by Hayes.

The Oscar for Semantics

Let's put him in the Hall of Fame,
And rank him Wittiest of the Witty:
The genius who devised the name
Of Ethical Practices Committee!

MORRIE RYSKIND

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National Trends

Touts—Foreign and Native

PETER MINOT

For the past week, Yugoslav diplomats have been whispering that Vyacheslav Molotov was back in Moscow. The implication seems to be that Premier Khrushchev is planning to dust him off for use at pre-summit and summit meetings. Not so long ago, however, the same Yugoslav sources were whispering to their newspaper friends that Comrade Bulganin's irascible letters to Mr. Eisenhower were not to be taken seriously; that they were part of a gigantic Khrushchev ploy. Once he had booted his friend out of top office, or so the "explanation" went, Mr. Khrushchev would make a grandstand reversal which would usher in an era of reasonableness and a speedy meeting of the Big Three.

The Yugoslavs, of course, report what suits them. Whether or not Mr. Molotov is in Moscow, we are being told that he is because Marshal Tito would like to tout us off a summit meeting. We were favored with the earlier intelligence because the Yugoslavs favored a conference at the time and were offering their tranquilizers. The truth, as Vice President Nixon has argued with the National Security Council (and Secretary of State Dulles with his subordinates) is that the dialectic of events and the nature of the Soviet State push Mr. Khrushchev inexorably towards a new Stalinism.

On the congressional front, the sense of unreality has reached Kafkaesque proportions. Each day Republicans and Democrats study the economic indicators, each with an opposing set of hopes and fears. Having too quickly conceded the armaments race to the Communists, the Democrats are doing their level best to sabotage a streamlining of the Pentagon—Mr. Eisenhower's most constructive suggestion to the Congress in five years. In the New House Office Building, where Chairman Brent Spence's Banking and Currency Committee holds court, a series of witnesses have been doing their short turns and encores—as if recession and survival were one great political game. Harry S. Truman, on record since January 5 in favor of raising taxes, was the first of these witnesses. His script, written by Leon Keyserling, called for a $5 billion *tax cut* —but its effectiveness was lost in the hullaballoo over his denial that he had told Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* what he had, in fact, told Mr. Krock.

The latest witness of any consequence has been the UAW's Walter Reuther, who delivered a ten-point program for recovery which would make the U.S. Treasury an adjunct of the AFL-CIO. With all the overblown sonorities of a Stokowski transcription, Abou ben Reuther also implored "big business" and the reactionary Republicans to forego politics—even as he himself had done. Modestly he confided to the Committee that the automobile companies were always pressing him not to be a "labor statesman" but to make "deals" with them. The Democratic members, looking at the UAW's campaign contributions behind Mr. Reuther, cooed tremulously.

One item of testimony which should have made page one was, understandably, ignored by the demon reporters covering the meeting. Given the impact of the "automobile depression" on the general economy, Republican Representative William Widnall asked, would Mr. Reuther care to comment on the sentiment (falsely) ascribed to former Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson that "what's good for General Motors is good for the country"? For years, Mr. Reuther's AFL-CIO had been using that misquotation[1] as a whip to lash the Administration.

Mr. Reuther shifted into first, then answered calmly: "The basic idea he was expressing was sound." Not a word of this appeared in the *Washington Post,* the *Washington Star,* the *New York Times*—or possibly anywhere in the nation's press.

Mr. Reuther's triumphant appearance was coincident with a meeting in Washington of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. On the record, the Council issued its usual spate of pious declarations. But the main problem before the house—and one not covered by the handouts—was how to prevent this Congress from passing labor legislation. In the past, it had not been too difficult to keep an imposing number of bills bottled up in Senator John F. Kennedy's Labor subcommittee. A little lobbying pressure and Mr. Kennedy's natural laziness did the trick. But Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson had committed the Senate to hearings on some of these bills—a promise he made as a sop to the conservative Democrats who were sandbagged into defeating Senator Knowland's "labor bill of rights" amendments to the Pension Fund Control Act.

Labor strategists still remember with horror that their efforts to get the Taft-Hartley Act repealed in 1949 led to the substitution of the Wood Bill, even tougher than T-H, which failed by three votes to become law. Though the Democrats control the committees, a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans on the floor of the House could run away with the most innocuous measure by amending it to include an ironbound prohibition of union political spending or provisions for the closed ballot election of union officers. Labor's strategy, therefore, will be to keep the House Education and Labor Committee from reporting any legislation.

In the Senate, the problem is somewhat different. Labor has breached the Southern Democratic bloc, now that Senator John McClellan has delivered himself as a hostage, to the fortunes of little Bobby Kennedy and his big brother John. Republican Senator Irving Ives, a force on the Labor Committee, once complained that "Bobby never talks to me except to yell at me," but this does not mean that he is ready to declare his independence of the labor vote. If it comes to a showdown, Mr. Ives can be expected to go along with Senator Kennedy and the AFL-CIO.

[1] What Mr. Wilson really said (January 15, 1953) was: "For years I [have] thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa."

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Will They Get Strauss?

Without the chairman of the AEC, says the author, our present defenses would not exist. Yet his enemies are determined to rob us of his services

MEDFORD EVANS

The enemies of Lewis Strauss are a curious lot. Of course they are not all Communists. There are also the anti-Semites. Conde McGinley's *Common Sense* (tied with the Alsops' "Matter of Fact" for American journalism's most inappropriate title) has attacked Strauss for years. Others in the queer cabal include the "prominent Democrat" who said of the distinguished AEC Chairman: "I just drool at the thought of cutting him up." The quotation is from *Newsweek* (March 17), not Krafft-Ebing.

It is the Communists who have the most substantial reasons for attacking Strauss. He has blocked their path since 1947. If they are to fulfill their historic mission they cannot bypass the American nuclear fortress. They must occupy it, reduce it, or perish, for while it is secure they are insecure. The issue is joined in the security program of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. *A priori* it seems incredible that Strauss should have been indispensable to that program. Historically, that is the way it worked out. If Strauss' enemies succeed in making a Laocoön of him—because he too has implacably resisted the Trojan Horse—we shall probably meet the fate of Troy. On the other hand, while we secure our historic nuclear advantage Communism withers on the vine.

Since Hiroshima it has been clear that the struggle for the world would be decided *inside* the American atomic energy project. Given our head start in nuclear weapons, it was not possible that any other power could in the normal course of events overtake us, much less a country so backward as the Soviet Union. Red Army Engineer Colonel G. A. Tokaev says, "In 1944 the Soviets knew nothing about atomic weapons." When they learned, there was at first little they could do. The richest part of the country was a waste land of scorched earth, across which the Red Army and the *Wehrmacht* had successively retreated, each totally determined to deny the other any benefit from the painfully achieved results of old, unhappy Five Year Plans. On top of this, according to Edward Crankshaw, "Stalin's plans for post-war reconstruction [were] disastrously upset by the drought of 1946, the worst since 1891." Small wonder, considering the "objective" character of Soviet justice, that "A number of specialists who had been working on atomic projects were arrested in 1947 for negligence and lack of results" (Tokaev). In extenuation of this administrative harshness it may be noted that while speculative brilliance has long been a sort of Russian specialty, as of 1947 no Russian had ever won the Nobel Prize in physics or chemistry, though two or three Western Communists and fellow travelers had done so.

To ex-seminarian Stalin it may have occurred, in a kind of obscene parody of the words of the Prodigal Son: "How many hired scientists in America have bombs enough and to spare!" In charge of the atomic program of the USSR he placed NKVD Chief Lavrenti Beria. "To a large extent," says Colonel Tokaev, "the Soviet war industry has been nurtured on the results of widespread espionage, the use of foreign inventions, and the capture of material."

"I believe," said J. Robert Oppenheimer, "that their atomic effort was quite imitative."

As luck would have it, there was an old Beria man in the United States who had been an intimate friend of Mrs. J. Robert Oppenheimer—Steve Nelson. There were numerous bits of luck like that. The greatest stroke of luck was that the American government was somewhere left of center, and that the American intellectual classes were generally to the left of the government. In such a climate, where so few took seriously any program of internal security, infiltration and diversion should be easy.

Problem for Bureaucrats

The hard luck was Lewis Strauss.

There is no getting around it, somebody blundered. The *New Republic* in 1946 was sure Strauss would be fine for AEC Commissioner, just as it was sure that the only word for David Lilienthal as AEC Chairman was "perfect." Perhaps the editors were misled by Strauss' connection with the Institute for Advanced Study. Yet they might have observed that he had begun his career as private secretary to Herbert Hoover, and it would have been easy to learn that he was an old friend of Robert Taft.

In the bureaucracy, Strauss quickly became a problem. He insisted on studying personally a lot of FBI reports—as, to be sure, a reading of the law would suggest was his duty. "We've got to get those FBI reports out of this Headquarters," said the boys down the hall. There ensued a great push to "decentralize the personnel security clearance function."

Next came the hassle over isotopes. Again Strauss was reading the law and worrying about security! True, he had said at his confirmation hearings that "security" was "paramount." But why didn't he tell somebody that he meant it?

The isotopes issue—whether a shipment of radioactive iron to the Norwegian Military Establishment was in accord with the law and sound policy—was the first of a dozen cases under the Lilienthal regime where Strauss stood alone. The other cases involved national security too. Twelve times in 500 formal AEC decisions in the years 1947-1949 this one man voted against his four colleagues. The matter is statistically trivial, but it evidently

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shook them. Why should Lilienthal, Bacher, Waymack, and Pike (by 1949 Smyth and Dean in place of Bacher and Waymack)—why should they have cared? Strauss voted with them 488 times, and they overrode him four to one the rest of the time. Yet the Liberals were uneasy at this undissolved grain of conservatism. A mote it was to trouble the mind's eye. They had the grace to feel it.

In a congressional investigation of AEC in 1949 Representative (now Senator) Henry "Scoop" Jackson badgered Strauss about his noncomformity. It was evidently Jackson's view that if four Commissioners and the General Advisory Committee, under the Chairmanship of J. Robert Oppenheimer, agreed, it put Strauss in an egregious position to disagree. But Jackson had a hard time making any points off Strauss, precisely because the latter does have a mind of his own and carried it with him to the witness stand.

> MR. JACKSON. Do you think the conduct of the Commission during the period that you have served on it is such that it has been guilty of incredible mismanagement? [Senator Hickenlooper had charged Chairman Lilienthal and the Commission with incredible mismanagement.] . . . I realize your possible hesitancy.
>
> MR. STRAUSS. I wish you would permit my hesitancy to continue as a matter of record.

The record shows that after this the basically unfriendly cross-examination was quickly discontinued.

The H-Bomb Contest

In September 1949 Robert Oppenheimer 1) told the Defense Department that the Russians had exploded an atomic bomb, 2) told the State Department that the President should make a public announcement, 3) told Edward Teller: "Keep your shirt on." So began the H-bomb controversy.

It is convenient, and not totally misleading, to think of this contest as: Strauss and Teller *v.* Lilienthal and Oppenheimer. Fortunately, many others in all parts of the country were also involved—united, apparently, only by Providence or other ultra-human power.

It was Strauss who put the H-bomb on the agenda. Mr. Lilienthal has testified: "The precise occasion for considering the H-bomb . . . was a

Lilienthal

memorandum from our fellow Commissioner, Mr. Strauss." This memorandum to history was written in Washington, D.C., October 4 or 6, 1949.

On October 5, 1949 California physicist Luis W. Alvarez wrote in his diary:

> Latimer [well-known chemist] and I independently thought that the Russians could be working hard on the super [hydrogen bomb] . . . The only thing to do seems to get there first. . . .
>
> October 6 . . . Talked with E[rnest]. O. L[awrence] . . . he took it very seriously—in fact he had just come from a session with Latimer. We called up Teller at Los Alamos to find out how the theory had progressed in the last 4 years. Since E.O.L. and I were to leave tomorrow for Washington, we decided to go a day earlier and stop for a day at Los Alamos to talk with Teller. Left San Francisco at 7:30 p.m.

Thus was the genius of liberty awake—October 5 and 6, 1949—from sea to shining sea.

The General Advisory Committee met October 29, 1949. On behalf of the AEC Lilienthal asked the GAC's "advice on whether our program . . . met the requirements of our duty, and if not, how it should be supplemented and in particular *should it be supplemented by an all-out program on the H-bomb as proposed by Commissioner Strauss.*" (My italics, as also below.)

Oppenheimer, GAC Chairman that day, has testified concerning the same meeting:

> The Commission . . . explained to us the double problem: What should they do and should they do this? [Students of style may compare this with Lilienthal's statement above, which—though improbably — means the same thing.] We then consulted a number of people . . . George Kennan [it's a small world] . . . General Bradley. . . . Then we went into executive session. I believe I opened the session by asking Fermi to give an account of the technical state of affairs. . . . Then we went around the table. . . . There was a surprising unanimity—to me very surprising [don't overdo it, Doctor]—that the United States *ought not to take the initiative at that time in an all out program* for the development of thermonuclear weapons.

On November 9, 1949, the GAC's views and the AEC's views went forward to the President. Mr. Lilienthal has paraphrased the AEC report, in part as follows:

> Mr. Strauss indicated . . . for an all out program. Three of us, Commissioners Pike, Smyth, and myself, said in one sentence *we are not for this program—we are not at this time,* I think are the words that are used—and Mr. Dean had a position which I think might be described as *not quite at this time.*

And at that time the prospects for the continued independence of the United States were pretty bleak.

Questioned by Senators prior to his confirmation as Commissioner in 1947, Strauss had said that atomic progress had been largely in the weapons field, "And will probably continue to be in that field as far as one can see ahead." This was correct, he thought, "from the condition of the world."

Crucial Decision

By November 1949 the condition of the world had deteriorated further. According to the scientists, the USSR had just erased our nuclear advantage, and might be in a position to move ahead of us. Yet our official advisory body (GAC) and our responsible administrative agency (AEC) were almost unanimously saying what GAC Chairman Oppenheimer had said to Teller: "Keep your shirt on."

"Roll up your sleeves," they should have said. Strauss did anyhow. So did Teller. So did Lawrence, Alvarez, and the indomitable Dean Wendell M. Latimer.

> Q. [by Samuel J. Silverman, counsel for Oppenheimer] You came to

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Washington . . . to build up pressure for the hydrogen bomb.
A. [by Dean Latimer] . . . I did everything I could. . . . I worked on a good many of my friends around the Commission. . . .
Q. Did you try to speak to Dr. Oppenheimer about it?
A. I did not. . . . I didn't think my opinion would have much influence upon him. . . . I talked to Admiral Strauss. . . .
Q. Did you think that Admiral Strauss' influence was greater than that of Dr. Oppenheimer?
A. When he got the Army and Navy and others behind him it turned out it was.

The others included Senator Brien McMahon, Admiral Sidney Souers (a St. Louis businessman) and President Harry Truman. So the United States got an extension of time.

If Strauss had not taken his stand in AEC in 1949, the United States would not have hydrogen weapons today. Without hydrogen warheads, ballistic missiles are impracticable. Without the prospect of effective ballistic missiles, and without the hydrogen weapons stockpiled during the past four or five years, our "deterrent" would be comparatively negligible. This deterrent is the only means anyone has thought of to keep both the peace and the independence of the United States and of other non-Communist nations. We owe the deterrent to many people, notably Edward Teller. Oppenheimer has testified, "The record should show . . . that the principal inventor in all of this business was Teller." But a large-scale modern project is impossible without a high-level administrative decision. Here the motion was made and the argument sustained by Lewis Strauss. His was, as James Shepley and Clay Blair have said, "the one reaction that altered history."

How greatly his role was appreciated by Congress appears in the statement of Joint Committee Chairman Sterling Cole, July 31, 1953, when Strauss had just returned to AEC as Chairman after an absence begun in April 1950 following his success in the great H-bomb controversy:

> When we first learned of your nomination, it was accepted with unrestrained and unreserved joy and delight. Having observed your work on the Commission during your previous service, we felt completely justified in having an implicit reliance upon your capacity to render an outstanding service to our country in this most important field.

This encomium was seconded by today's Joint Committee Chairman, then ranking minority member from the House, Representative Carl T. Durham: "Mr. Chairman, this is one time that I feel confident in having a Republican express my views fully."

Senator Hickenlooper had expressed on the floor of the Senate, June 27, 1953, the opinion that "Admiral Strauss has a unique record. So far as I know, he is the best-equipped layman, as distinguished from an atomic scientist, in the United States to handle atomic matters." From this

Strauss

opinion there was no significant public dissent till after the Oppenheimer case.

It was William L. Borden, of course, who five months after he had left the position of Executive Director of the Joint Committee triggered the Oppenheimer case with a letter to J. Edgar Hoover dated November 7, 1953, containing the careful estimate: "More probably than not J. Robert Oppenheimer is an agent of the Soviet Union." Since Borden was at the time probably more familiar with the record than anyone else, and since he had been hired for the Joint Committee by liberal Democratic Senator Brien McMahon, who *till* the H-bomb controversy had been aligned generally with Lilienthal and with Oppenheimer, this judgment could not be ignored. The summary report on the Oppenheimer file which the FBI immediately prepared is said to have "appalled" Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson. It was Dwight D. Eisenhower who said that a hearing should be ordered, and that meanwhile a "blank wall" should be placed between Oppenheimer and secret data.

Nevertheless, Lewis L. Strauss has been held responsible for the Oppenheimer case. And that is as it should be. He was the Chairman and he did his duty.

Oppenheimer's Record

The defense of Oppenheimer was, and is, grotesque. While he denounced Communism the *Daily Worker* supported him. Liberals praised Gray Board member Ward V. Evans for wanting to clear Oppenheimer because "he hates Russia." (Today they attack Teller on the ground that *he* hates Russia.) In the sequel France would make Oppenheimer an Officer of the Legion of Honor—France, where the Rosenbergs are martyrs, honoring the Oppenheimer who in a hostile context had branded Margaret Ellis as a Communist sympathizer on the ground that he "had a letter from her about the Rosenberg affair."

There is a man named Haakon Chevalier who in Berkeley in 1943 said something to Oppenheimer about a possible espionage channel to the Soviets. Several months later Oppenheimer reported this episode to the military, including at length General Groves, who has testified: "I was never certain as to just what he was telling me." What is clear, from a telegram in the files, is that by December 12, 1943 Oppenheimer had given Chevalier's name to the security police.

Mr. Paul Block Jr., of the *Toledo Blade*, before the International Press Institute in April, spoke of Oppenheimer's "excessive loyalty to one or two very old friends, and an occasional disdainful attitude toward the cops." Many who have not studied the record believe that the moral issue confronting Oppenheimer in 1943 was whether he should obey the security regulations or protect his friend Chevalier. What Oppenheimer did was violate security and turn his friend in too. In the terms in which Mr. Block has chosen to discuss the

(*Continued on p. 478*)

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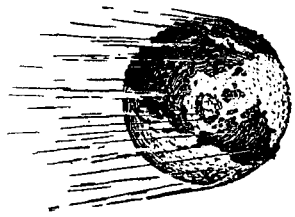

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Foreign Aid: A Dissection

"When things are so managed in a Government, that the Neighbors purchase its comity, and make themselves its Pensioners; 'tis a certain sign of the potency of that Government: But when the Neighbors on the contrary receive money from it, 'tis as infallible a sign of its weakness."

Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*

The globalist humanitarians among us are an all-out 100 per cent *for* foreign aid; and many nationalists are 100 per cent *against*. Though these blanket attitudes are emotionally satisfying, neither makes much sense.

"Foreign aid" is a rubbery term that stretches over a half-dozen different sub-programs, each with different objectives. If they get under the verbal surface, most citizens from Left to Right will approve some of the objectives; and only a few—apart from the bureaucrats, foreign and domestic, who draw their paychecks out of "foreign aid"—will approve them all. The bitter quarrels are over one or two sub-programs which represent, in money, a small percentage of the total.

The Senate's Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Program wrote in its 1957 Report: "Foreign aid has come to be regarded as a single device of policy capable of achieving a multiplicity of objectives. Many people in the United States have been led to this view largely by the ambiguous justifications for foreign aid in the past. . . . The fact is that the mutual security program contains many separate undertakings whose purposes may be, but are not necessarily, closely related."

According to the standard classification the total expenditure on foreign aid is divided into "military" and "non-military." In recent years these have been about equal. (Direct military aid was 54 per cent in 1956 and 49 per cent in 1957.) Most of the non-military aid is called "defense support" or "supporting assistance," with the remainder classified as "technical assistance" (Point 4) and "development aid." In 1957 more than half—$1.5 billion worth—of the non-military aid took the form of agricultural shipments: 35 per cent of the value of all U.S. agricultural exports during the year.

When we examine the data we find that these classifications are blurred. "Direct military aid" includes the transfer of military goods and services for: a) our own military installations in foreign countries; b) NATO installations; c) military forces (*e.g.* of Korea, Free China and Turkey) that are in effect auxiliaries of our own; d) military forces of close allies in Europe and Latin America; e) military forces of neutralist or actually pro-Soviet nations.

A big share of "defense support" goes to nations like Korea, Free China, Turkey and Spain that under our strategic direction are maintaining a level of military strength beyond the capability of their own economies. Some goes to nations like Vietnam and Pakistan that have been holding to a fairly consistent pro-Western course in critical areas. And a third share goes to the India, Yugoslavia, Poland, Indonesia, Afghanistan crowd that is avowedly neutralist, rudely anti-Western, and usually pro-Soviet in practice.

An adequate American defense system requires, at present, installations (ports, airfields, communications posts, supply depots) outside our national boundaries as well as the help of some allied and auxiliary forces. No responsible American, therefore, can object in principle to "foreign aid" that is designed to provide these requisites. But there is no reason to call appropriations for such a purpose "foreign aid," or to lump them together with appropriations which serve other purposes.

The sums for "direct military aid" ought to be included as a distinct category within the defense budget. Congress could then insist that the Pentagon's spokesmen justify them not by vague appeals to the national interest but by precise proof that they are indeed essential to our strategic plans in exactly the same sense as money for a missile base in Wyoming or a new atomic submarine. ("Expenditures on military aid must be weighed primarily against the return which would be expected if these funds were spent directly on the National Defense Establishment," commented the Senate Special Committee, and added: "The committee is not satisfied that this principle is now being followed. . . . Military aid appears to be considered as an end in itself.")

The non-military foreign aid budget would legitimately propose such "defense support" as really *was* necessary to support the military strategy—in countries like Korea, Spain, Free China, Turkey, for example, or even in Britain, where the Pentagon's strategic decisions impose a disproportionate burden on an ally. And one might add—though as a distinct and separable project—a modest appropriation for such technical assistance and "development aid" (*e.g.*, for port or transportation facilities) as could be shown to promise specific and ultimately profitable return to the U.S. economy.

This approach would dissect out and isolate the fraudulent portion that is now disguised by the justifiable elements in the present foreign aid package: the bubble-headed do-gooderies plus the arms, money and supplies for neutralists, Titoists and popular fronters. This portion cannot be objectively motivated by military strategy or national interest. It has served not only to antagonize our genuine friends, but to drive the recipients further away from us, not closer. Handling it in isolation from direct military aid and honest defense support, Congress would not risk any incidental injury to national security in doing what should have been done long ago: not just cutting down the (preventively inflated) sums asked for these self-defeating purposes, but wiping out this entire dimension of the foreign aid amalgam.

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Lapsus Calami Freudianus

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Freudian slip?—or excess of candor? Which is it, for example, when your companion at dinner tells you, as mine did the other night, "I never had a peaceful moment—not one—the first twenty years of my wife?" And which is it when a *New Republic* editor uses as a subtitle for an article called "Religion at Harvard" the question: "To what values, *if any,* should a free university be committed in a world split by rival doctrines?"

As for myself, I'd guess excess of candor in the first case; and "Freudian slip" in the second.

Take out the words "if any"; make the question read merely "To what values should a free university be committed?"; and I can imagine a man, especially a *New Republic* editor, being willing to make, publicly, the confession of ignorance that it embodies, namely: he doesn't know *what* values a university should be committed to. He might as well say he doesn't know what a university is for, and doesn't know where to go to find out. But imagine a man—even a *New Republic* editor—being willing to confess, which is what he does when the words "if any" are left to stand, that he doesn't know whether a university should stand for any values at all! Such a man is a barbarian.

Most Liberals are more discreet: they *think* that awful question; they say things that *presuppose* it, and that show they do not know the answer to it; but they do not blurt it out. For the moment, they are content to insist 1) that the "free university" imposes no orthodoxy, either on its faculty or on its students, 2) that the free university accommodates "all points of view."

Let us bear in mind that they are not the same thing. The university imposes no orthodoxy? Well and good; that we can understand. It also accommodates all points of view? Impossible—if one of the points of view to be accommodated is that of the man who feels that the university should impose an orthodoxy. For that man, by his very existence, threatens the existence of the kind of university the Liberals want. That (as NATIONAL REVIEW pointed out at the time) is the lesson of the Halton case at Princeton. And it is the point that, intentionally or not, Mr. William Warren Bartley, III gets across in the *New Republic,* in an article which we may summarize as follows:

—Harvard is living through a phase of "religiosity and renewed interest in Christian concepts." Harvard Divinity School's endowment has risen from $1 million to $7 million since 1953; the number of its faculty-members has been multiplied by six; "no one is any longer ashamed of its student body"; there is now "daily morning service in Andover Chapel" (though there is some disagreement as to whether it should include prayer); "one has to come early to the Sunday services to get a good seat"; and, last June, "not one, but two, of the student addresses discussed religion." All this has been "good for public relations and for fund drives." But the question arises: Is it a "real 'revival,'" or only the "final rallying of a mortally-ill thing?"

—The revival has not, in any case, gone forward unopposed. When, in 1954, an attempt was made at Harvard's Social Services activities center (Phillips Brooks House), to divide the members up into "four groups: Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and social workers," and to install "religious administrators for the first three of these groups," the "Harvard community" arose to defeat the proposal—as an attempt "to inject religion into PBH for its own sake, not because Brooks House needs religion or because religion needs PBH."

—Another controversy, however, has turned out far less happily. Memorial Church, which was built to "commemorate the Harvard men of all faiths who had died in World War I," has by tradition been available to all students who might wish to get married there. Jewish couples have sometimes availed themselves of this privilege, and why shouldn't they since "President Eliot and his successors had made clear their intention not to allow any particular religious group to gain dominant influence in the university"? In 1955, however, Memorial Church's pastor, Professor Buttrick, "refused to permit a Jewish student to be married in Memorial Church . . . by a Rabbi." Since then, he "reaffirmed the 'Protestant-Christian' tradition of the church," and stated his "conviction that it would be intellectually dishonest for Christian *and* Jewish marriages to be carried on [!] beneath the same roof." He even suggested that a synagogue be built on university property in the yard, and announced he was good for a $100 contribution for that purpose. Worse still, President Pusey supported Buttrick's position — naturally enough, perhaps, since the position does (the author concedes) "follow from . . . Presbyterian premises." Both of them overlook the fact, however, that the "dominant religious tradition at Harvard" is *Unitarian,* that "Unitarians are not recognized as Christians by the . . . National Council of Churches," and that, therefore, the availability of Memorial Church to Unitarians and, for that matter, to non-Jewish atheists, looks suspiciously like anti-Sem—well, let Mr. Bartley say it himself: "The objection, apparently, is not to non-Christians, but to Jews. A strange logic? Yes, but *credo quia absurdum.*"

—President Pusey is guilty on yet another count: he has encouraged the idea that religion should receive, to quote Mr. Pusey, "expert attention within the university by scholars of

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the highest competence *who can study theology fully because they do so as committed men.*" Pusey has, moreover, been seconded in this outrageous view by Theologian Paul Tillich, who has gone so far as to write, "The assertion that something has a sacred character is meaningful only for the asserting faith."

Fortunately, Mr. Tillich got his comeuppance from Professor Morton White of the Philosophy Department, who reminds Tillich: "There have been great Catholic students of Catholic theology and great non-Catholic students of it." In a word: no more of this talk about "committed men."

—President Pusey has also encouraged talk about "religion as a unifying force in the curriculum." "It is," Pusey has written, "leadership in religious knowledge, and even more, in religious experience . . . of which we now have a most gaping need," and Bartley is eager for us to understand the logic by which Pusey arrives at such a position: "[The] address follows a pattern which has become familiar . . . [The] existence of Evil, once the churchman's biggest problem, becomes his greatest argumentative asset . . . [Our] attention is called to the dividedness and misery of the world. Then it is pointed out that 'Christianity has always recognized the dual nature of man and the existence of sin in the world.' And finally, acceptance of Christianity . . . is urged as the answer to the evil . . . There is nothing like Evil . . . to set the stage for a *non sequitur*."

—Such talk as that parallels—and re-enforces—the widespread notion that Harvard, before Pusey, was "secular, and therefore amoral, if not downright immoral." That insistence comes from people like President Howard Lowry of Wooster College, and William F. Buckley Jr., who "misinterpreted" a famous sentence from the Harvard Report of 1945 on *General Education in a Free Society* ("given the American scene with its varieties of faith and even of unfaith, we did not feel justified in proposing religious instruction as part of the curriculum"), and accused Harvard of "omitting instructions about an important part of the common heritage of humanity."

Such writers as Lowry and Buckley simply do not understand the "distinction between 'instructing in' and 'instructing about,' or between 'preaching' and 'teaching' "; nor do they understand how a university should square off to this problem, which has been admirably put by Harvard Professor Raphael Demos, *viz.*: "At Harvard, we make no effort to indoctrinate . . . Rather, we try to spread before the mind's eye of the student the various viewpoints and values so that he may make his own choices among them. Monolithic education is as bad as monolithic government. . . . Some of us teachers believe in taking the student to the woods and losing him there; the process by which the student finds his way back constitutes his education."

—In sharp contrast to this correct view of universities in general and Harvard in particular is that of, for example, Pusey-protegé Professor John D. Wild. He attributes the "crisis of the university" to its lack of "overarching patterns of religious and philosophic thought," and regards the need for such patterns as "the most desperate need of our time." And Wild, though a Harvard professor, is offering in such statements "a particularly excited expression of a point of view one encounters repeatedly in current Christian discussions of the place of religion in higher education"; and that point of view boils down to this: ". . . the only way to destroy the Western Tower of Babel, its self-doubt, hesitation, lack of effective communication, anxiety, and disagreement, is for the West to have . . . an ideology as comprehensive and uniform as that of the Communists, in this case: Christianity."

—The answer to that kind of thinking, which unavoidably eventuates in a demand to "unify the curriculum at whatever price," and to "immunize" students against "intelligent reflection and searching examination," has been given by ex-Harvard President Conant. He, too, believes the West needs a "minimal 'common faith' "; but "locates" the latter in a " 'wide diversity of beliefs and the tolerance of this diversity.' " He regards such diversity as the " 'bedrock to which our national unity was anchored,' " and points out to those who think we have no spiritual unity today that " 'almost every American believes that human life is sacred.' "

—The difference between Conant and Demos on the one hand, and thinkers like Wild on the other, is, in technical language, that between a "procedural faith" and a "substantive faith." The former is the kind of faith appropriate to democracy; and those who argue that "democracy should embrace a value orthodoxy" are in fact arguing that "*democracy be abandoned.*"

No, despite the recurrence of the emphasis we have just noted, Bartley does *not* draw the obvious conclusion. Monolithic education — remember? —is just as bad as monolithic government. Should it not follow, therefore, that proponents of monolithic (*e.g.*, Christian) education should be treated in the same way as proponents of monolithic government (*e.g.*, Fascists and Communists)? "Thinkers like Wild" (Bartley names several: Sir Walter Moberly, Henry P. Van Dusen, Howard Lowry, T. S. Eliot, John Courtney Murray) are in fact proposing that democracy be abandoned—should it not follow that they should be treated as enemies of our form of government? And (the next step is hard to avoid) do we want enemies of our form of government in our schools?

No, I repeat, Bartley does not draw the obvious inferences. The time for that is not yet. But there is in his peroration a wee small Freudian slip (or excess of candor) that appears to be all his own, which wants some thinking about. "Some Harvard men," he writes, "will continue . . . [to believe] that a dull uniformity can kill the spirit of philosophic investigation." Those men (the good guys) will contrive to "encourage the great tradition of reasonable difference and rational debate," and to urge that "a big question need not call for a big or pompous answer"—which, presumably, is the kind of answer "thinkers like Wild" (the bad guys) have to offer. And—watch him now —they will therefore "share a common platform *with each other* even when they cannot accept each other's conclusions."

The italics are added. But they don't make the sentence say anything it didn't say already. And who would want to share a common platform with the exponents of something "mortally-ill" and, on top of that, subversive?

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THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

An Advertisement to Run in The Princetonian

From the Princetonian, *March 12, 1958 "Town and Gown," a regular column by Randal R. Marlin* ". . . The views [*William F. Buckley Jr. expounded last night before the Whig-Clio Society*] . . . are quite at *variance with the Princeton philosophy of education, and are likely to cause the country more harm than good when practiced in the communist witch-hunting techniques known a short time ago . . . Buckley maintains that the ideal university should hold the principles of the Judaeo-Christian ethic, and the principles embodied in the United States' Constitution as absolutes.*

"Now there is nothing wrong with the basic argument here. What we disagree with is the zeal with which Buckley and his followers would enforce this condemnation. Everyone would condemn the action of a swimmer who does not jump into the river to save a drowning person, but no one would pass a law to prosecute him. Similarly the university ought not to censure every professor suspected of the least communistic or atheistic tendencies. It has the obligation of bringing the most competent men in each field to teach. It should use the utmost discretion before violating this obligation."

March 26, 1958

The Chairman, Daily Princetonian
Princeton University
Sir:

I have before me a column by Mr. Randal R. Marlin devoted to my address before Whig-Clio a couple of weeks ago. I set out to correct Mr. Marlin's misunderstandings, only to learn that my powers of elucidation are unequal to his capacity for confusion. I know Mr. Marlin's readers must, upon reading his column, have dismissed me as unintelligible. I hope they did; if not, Princeton's critical faculties are in low estate. The purpose of this letter is to state, for the record, that there is little similarity between what I believe, or said that night, and what Mr. Marlin reported I believe, and said. If the fault is mine for not having communicated my thoughts distinctly, then I apologize to Mr. Marlin.

Moreover, I offer Mr. Marlin a means to eliminate the menace he implies I represent. If he can find two other persons in the audience who will underwrite his account of what I said, I shall be constrained to slit my throat.

Yours very truly,
WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Apr. 15, 1958

The Chairman, Daily Princetonian
Dear Sir:

Did you receive a letter I sent you on March 26 for publication? If so, did you run it? If so, may I have a copy of it?

Yours sincerely,
WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Apr. 17, 1958

William F. Buckley, Jr.
Dear Sir:

We did receive your letter. We did not run it.

Yours sincerely,
RANDAL R. MARLIN
Associate Editorial Chairman

Apr. 18, 1958

Mr. Randal R. Marlin
Dear Mr. Marlin:

Why?

Yours sincerely,
WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Apr. 20, 1958

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Because.

Yours sincerely,
RANDAL R. MARLIN

Apr. 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Marlin:

Would you be good enough to send me the advertising rates for the *Daily Princetonian*, as I propose to publish our correspondence. That is, on the assumption that you will not exercise censorship on the grounds that you see in my proposal a clear and present danger to your reputation.

Yours sincerely,
WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Apr. 28, 1958

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I was delighted at the proposal in your last letter to advertise in our paper. I personally think your letters are a masterpiece of their type and would make a most effective advertisement. Enclosed are the various schemes and channels by which you can realize your proposal. I would call your attention to our special long-range plan whereby advertising rates are reduced to the ridiculously low rate of 90 cents per column inch. Even if you do not wish to sign a contract, our special rebates for more than a hundred inches will ensure a good bargain.

Again, let me say how very much I have enjoyed our pleasant correspondence and how grateful I am at your proposal to advertise in our paper. The *Daily Princetonian* needs advertising.

With warmest regards

Sincerely yours,
RANDAL R. MARLIN

P.S. I hope you will include this letter among those selected for publication in your advertisement.

May 4, 1958

Dear Mr. Marlin:

Thank you for your gallant assurance. It is good to know that for a mere 90 cents per inch the *Princetonian* is disposed to permit visiting lecturers to disavow what they are reported, by *Princetonian* columnists, as having said. Next time (if there is a next time) perhaps I may be permitted to approach your columnist *before* I speak, and turn the money over to him directly, in return for accurate coverage? I am sure you will find my proposal, upon consideration, quite in harmony with your methods.

Thank you for your protracted good wishes. I return them; indeed, I would match them word for word except that, under the terms of the contract you forwarded me, no financial allowance is provided for the amenities.

Yours sincerely,
WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

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Ortega's Cosmic Hospital

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

Known in America as the author of *The Revolt of the Masses*, respected as an acute diagnostician of the decline of the West, José Ortega y Gasset is principally thought of on the Continent as a metaphysician. It is a good thing that the American philosophical public has an opportunity to inspect Ortega's thought in the recently published *Man and People* (Norton, $4.50). Aided by a remarkably brilliant translation executed by Mr. Willard R. Trask, *Man and People* is the work of a mind lucid in its Latinity, sane in its cynicisms, and cocky in its humility. Ortega was a man sure of himself, dead certain that the philosophy of antiquity was false, convinced that the philosophy of modernity was inadequate, blessed with a profound ignorance of the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages: he was therefore permitted the luxury of being original.

This book will bewilder those Americans who go to it expecting another *Revolt of the Masses*. The latter was a psychology of what until yesterday was the modern world; *Man and People* is a work in strict metaphysics. Those American reviewers who have disguised this fact out of deference to the ignorance of their readers have done neither Ortega nor philosophy a service.

Addressing himself straight away to the problem of the meaning of the "social" and of "society," Ortega locates the significance of this issue in the crisis of an age searching for new forms of social and political expression. Chiding sociologists for failing to develop a metaphysics of society, Ortega sets down as a cardinal principle the judgment that a sane science of society demands an ontological theory of the social; this last, in turn, presupposes a theory of man; and *this* presupposes a theory of life, since man is structurally "radical life." Ortega thus leads the meaning of society back to his fundamental philosophical position: life, the life of each one of us, is radical reality.

In an early chapter, first delivered as a lecture in Argentina in 1939, Ortega—in that mocking and bantering style so typical of the man—warned his audience that it could go to sleep if it liked, but that he was going to talk straight philosophy to them—sleeping or awake! And so am I in discussing his book.

Contrasting the simian life of monkeys with the rational life of man, Ortega went on to describe animal life as one of complete "exteriority": the animal, forever the victim of his surroundings, lives outside of himself on the watch against a world which is his enemy. Man, however, can withdraw within himself and find there a "world" utterly other than the world of material circumstances that menaces him from without. This withdrawal of man within himself is the contemplative moment of human life and it exists for the sake of future action, for the molding of that hostile environment to which the brute animal is enslaved. Thought, therefore, exists for the sake of action. Man is that "radical life" who is not given at the outset but who creates himself every moment through contemplation directed towards action.

Man is essential risk; could he be said to have an essence, that essence would be adventure. Capable of failure, capable of crumbling before the hostile world of nature menacing him from without like a spear pressing an armed man back to the wall where he takes his stand with nothing between him and the enemy but a drawn sword, Ortega's man can always succumb to the forces beyond. Whereas a German idealist would romanticize this conception of man, Ortega—with that Latin salt that sprinkles his most outlandish theories with the taste of realism—chides Nietzsche and Co. for advising man "to live dangerously." This is not advice, maintains Ortega, because man *is* essential danger. He lives dangerously whether he wants to or not. There is no need to dramatize the human situation: life is essential drama in itself.

Action without thought is stupidity, and thought without action is sterility. Having thus disposed of the meaning of contemplation, Ortega proceeds to sweep away the old opposition between realism and idealism. That his broom does not sweep clean is apparent to the careful reader. Existence is consequent upon life, says Ortega; existence is the appearance and affirmation of other things *against man who does not "exist" but who "lives." The being of things is their being-for-man.* Any independent reality attributed to things is but problematic. The world is a world of potential instruments waiting on the hand of man for exploitation and use.

So much for two thousand years of metaphysics for Ortega y Gasset! Charging over chasms of nescience, the plumed knight clears the field and wins the day. I too have a fondness for plumed knights and have meditated with Ortega over the meaning of Quixote, but I am forced here to call the man up short. He does not take seriously the meaning of the verb "to be." For St. Thomas Aquinas, "life" was abstractly superior to "existence," as a richer concept is abstractly superior to a poorer one; but, although abstractly superior, life is concretely englobed within what Aquinas called "the act of *esse* [to be]," that act which is—in the mind of the Common Doctor—the supreme perfection within which are located all other perfections.

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If life be "radical reality" itself encompassing being, then life stands anterior to being: if anterior to being, life is non-being; if non-being, life is absolutely nothing at all; and here is the final irony of Ortega's system. Built upon a conceptual superiority of "life" over "being," the system has no reference to the real world in which we *are*. Thus Aristotle's God, that "modest professor of philosophy" as Ortega aptly names him, who does nothing but think about himself, is not the Christian God whose Name is "I Am," and Who therefore makes things *be*. Had Ortega seen this it is possible that he would have scrapped his "beyond realism and idealism" as itself an idealism within which swim existentialist fish, not altogether happy in their new environment.

That Ortega himself was not altogether happy in his victory over realism is evidenced in his treatment of the Other Man. The Other Man looms on the scene as a threat to my own life because the Other Man, unlike the subhuman world, does not merely exist for me; I exist for him. According to Husserl, the Other Man was recognized by me because I can "in imagination . . . put myself in the place of the 'other body,'" by projecting my body, my *here*, to *there*, to his body. Thus I recognize an "I" who is not an "I" but a "You." This will not work, says Ortega, because quite often the Other Man is not a man but a woman and no amount of projecting my body in imagination to *her* place will reveal her to me as an *alter ego*. Peculiarly brilliant on the nature of woman, scattering Husserlian phenomenology to the winds for its total failure to account for an Other who is feminine, Ortega himself limps dismally in his explanation of how it is that the radical life of the "I" recognizes the radical life of the "You."

Be that as it may, once given the "I" and the "You," Ortega is in a position to talk about "society." Society is neither human nor subhuman: it is inhuman, impersonal, that anonymous reflective we designate as "people." Imposing itself upon us and constituting itself by a system of usages, society is neither an "I" nor a "You," but a "we." Not the personal "we" of love, society is the impersonal "we" that tyrannizes over us, often for our own good. Society, concludes the philosopher of vital reason, is a necessary evil.

Castigating Bonald and Burke for endowing society with an independent and benevolent personality of its own, Ortega bases the authority of society in the sanctions that follow from the violation of its "laws." Force, at bottom, is the keel upon which the ship of state finds its balance. Imperiously demanded by the "antisocial character of many individuals," society is a "reality that is constitutively sick." The public power it commands to enforce its decrees is what we commonly call the State. With this cosmic hospital whose doctors themselves are the patients, Ortega closes his book. And in so doing he closed his public life: *Man and People* is the last philosophical document Ortega y Gasset left the world.

With such a doctrine of society it is small wonder that he himself left Spain in 1936.

Bitter-Sweet Island

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

SAD Cyprus. "Tragedy" is one of those words which have almost lost their value through too common usage, but Cyprus really is a tragedy in the true sense—an affair of good intentions gone awry, of disaster springing from conflicting virtues, of love and murder mixed. "Yes," said one Cypriot, "even Dighenis, though he fights the British, really loves them. But he will have to go on killing them—with regret, even with affection." This is the heart of the tragedy: that for a strange mixture of reasons, historical and legendary, the Greeks both on the mainland and in the island are passionately, romantically pro-British.

The poignancy of this situation is sadly and beautifully caught by Lawrence Durrell. He is a philhellene but not the woolly kind. He has learned to know the Levant by living there. He is a poet with a sense of humor, a Conservative but not a politician.

Bitter Lemons (Dutton, $3.50), which was deservedly an enormous success in Britain, is an account ("somewhat impressionistic," he says) of how Durrell bought a house in Cyprus in 1953, fell in love with his village and the villagers, and watched helplessly as a terrible change came over the island, seeing it first as a private individual and then as a Government official. The story is rounded off by his sweet-sorrowful departure in 1956, but it is a story which unhappily has not ended yet.

This is a personal book, not a political one—Durrell hates writing about politics though, like his village, he was sucked into it: but the friendly people and the long carouses, the vineyards and the coffee shops and the quiet evenings, the deep blue sea and the flower-splashed hills are seen with peculiar intensity because of the deeping shadow behind them.

The Cyrus *impasse* was compounded of folly and paradox. If British politicians had been more understanding and tactful in discussing Cyprus with the Greeks, the Greek Government would have leaned over backwards to avoid trouble. If, having taken their stand, British politicians had held firm, trouble might still have been avoided. As it was, the familiar fatal slither began. The Colonial Office, used to administration rather than diplomacy, ignored Athens and Ankara just long enough to force the Greek and Turkish Governments into rigid irreconcilable positions. After that, there was no way out. Each new compromise made matters worse.

Many of the British residents in Cyprus were honestly baffled. *Enosis* (union with Greece) was so patently in nobody's interest. It would ruin the island's economy, subjecting the Cypriots to Greek military service, cripping taxation and hopelessly incompetent administration. Athens Radio might call the British tyrants and fascists, but there was in fact far more civil liberty in Cyprus than in Greece. The real fault of the British was lack of imagination and a plethora of red tape.

The desire of the Greek Cypriots for *enosis* is genuine enough but has been artificially stimulated; just as the Turkish Cypriots, who a few months ago asked only that British rule

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should continue, are now demanding partition. One of the grimmest lessons of our time is that it pays to throw bombs. Nationalism gets its teeth from terrorist activities and they are far uglier than most of the regimes they seek to overthrow. Murder and threats of murder are bad enough, but worse still is the deliberate fomenting of hatred, the destruction of all trust, the corruption of normal standards of honor. Children are taught to hate and kill and threatened with death themselves unless they obey. Innocence and loyalty are called cowardice and treachery. The civilians are mobilized by the professionals. The extremists are only too glad to provoke the Government into acts of repression which will fan the flames of nationalism.

Even when the Government understands this, it may be forced into an impossible dilemma—as it was over the exile of Archbishop Makarios, who was operationally intolerable as the author of terrorism and politically indispensable as the one man who could stop it. The only effective way to deal with such a situation is ruthless military repression of a kind which comes readily to the Hitlers and Stalins of this world but is impossible for the Western democracies. How long would Gandhi have lasted if India had been part of the Soviet empire?

The police force in Cyprus was small, antiquated and unpracticed: very different from the police in Communist countries or in those countries where the nationalists succeeded and now rule. The old easy-going ways vanished in the bomb-smoke. The soldiers came and Sir John Harding was brought unwillingly from retirement to lead them. In some respects, though it may be unfashionable to say so, the soldier's virtues were to be preferred to the havering of the civil servants.

As always, it was the ordinary peaceful Cypriots who suffered and were perplexed. They listened like uncomprehending children to the noisy contentions of Athens Radio but "if they tried to hate the Government, the very abstraction resolved itself into the faces of the officers whom they knew, servants of the crown who spoke Greek, who had built them a well or a road."

Everybody was right and everybody wrong, is Durrell's conclusion. *Bitter Lemons* presents a compassionate and fair-minded picture of one of the vital problems of our time, a kind of problem which few Americans have yet really understood. But it is a better book even than that. Mr. Durrell is not a reporter hammering out a high-pressure commentary on current affairs. He is a poet writing about a tragedy, a traveler writing about a beautiful place, a good man writing about people who have amused him, exasperated him, enchanted him and been his dear friends.

Recent Biography

The Best is Wholly Partisan

ROBERT PHELPS

As Raynor Heppenstall once observed, "every man's written life is a literary fiction." His total mystery, the mixture of what he seems and what he is, to which his acts and declarations stand in only a partial, and often red-herring relation, can be known only to God; anyone attempting to frame his biography is required to select, judge and speculate as much as a novelist. It therefore follows, contrary to our prevailing faith in Impartiality and Facts-Over-All, that the best biography will be the one in which the biographer is most exposed; in which his tastes, beliefs, and values are put on the table; and in which, because we can see the man who is telling us about the hero, we can better see the hero. Half a dozen recent biographies demonstrated this advantage so consistently that I almost wondered, when I had finished them, if I hadn't better look for a tidy exception, to prove the rule.

Naked to Mine Enemies, by Charles W. Ferguson (Little, Brown, $6.00) is about Cardinal Wolsey. It is easy to read, and lays out its fairly dense fabric of detail in a professional manner. But the author is merely its editor. There is no attempt to interpret, evaluate, or tell us what kind of a man Wolsey really was. We end up knowing only who, where, when. Mr. Ferguson says he originally became interested in the Cardinal because of his statement, "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the King. . . ." But his story never tells us if he agrees or disagrees, if he thinks the Cardinal meant what he said, or was only continuing to play down-center on the Tudor stage he loved so much. The result is no focus, no image, no Cardinal.

Since Carleton Putnam is not a professor, with a departmental head to please, but a retired airline executive, I expected his biography of Theodore Roosevelt to be written out of a partisan zest worthy of its subject. But again, and though Mr. Putnam plainly likes Roosevelt out of a personal nostalgia for his pre-bureaucratic heyday, there is a scrupulous tameness everywhere. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years* (Scribner's, $10.00) is the first of four volumes. It is over 600 pages long and gets its hero as far as his twenty-eighth year. Much of the source material is new (Alsop and Lodge family papers, as well as Roosevelt's own early diaries), and hence valuable. But the whole project has the elaborately unventuresome air of boy's stamp collection.

Maurice Ashley's *The Greatness of Cromwell* (Macmillan, $5.00) at least puts up an argument. The tone may be different (Mr. Ashley being an editor of *The Listener*), but he does have an opinion. After conducting us through the Protector's life and times, he urges us to understand him as a patriotic, dedicated man, "untainted and unbiased by ends of his own." Though he beheaded an anointed king, led a civil war, and won an imperfect victory for his beliefs, Cromwell acted out of "a plain single heart," and with honest disinterest. He was only enlisted in the late Reformation's struggle for "liberty of conscience for everyone who believed in Christ," and was "no more a Fascist dictator than he was a Gladstonian Liberal."

In his newly reprinted *Stonewall*

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(*advertisement*)

the **BOOKMAILER** *news*

We are now THE BOOKMAILER, INC.

On April 1, 1958 The Bookmailer was incorporated. There has been no change in ownership or management. There will be no change in policy. The Bookmailer, Inc., will continue as the complete bookstore-by-mail serving regular customers in 109 foreign countries and all 48 states, supplying any U.S. published book, postage prepaid, to any address in the world.

Incorporating The Bookmailer has meant a frantically busy Spring for our staff. First, it meant making an audit of thousands of accounts, to tabulate customer debits and credits. Second, it required a complete inventory of thousands of books. The problem was how to accomplish this in orderly fashion, without interrupting service to our customers. This, in itself, was a burden, because our sales for the first three months of this year were almost double what they had been for the first three months of 1957 (92% increase, in fact). Further, we published a book in February which promptly began to sell in "best-seller" proportions—Judge Robert Morris' NO WONDER WE ARE LOSING, already in its fourth printing. And, finally, we were engaged in mailing 20,000 copies of Col. A. G. Rudd's book BENDING THE TWIG to school board presidents and leading educators throughout the country.

Notwithstanding all this activity, there has been no delay in filling book orders. Our record of processing and filling each order the same day it is received remains unblemished. The one casualty of all this activity was the February 15 Bookmailer News. All subscriptions will be extended accordingly.

Now, as The Bookmailer, Inc., we have geared ourselves to keep abreast of the growing need for our service. Our Bookmailer News will be expanded and improved. By the time this issue reaches you, we hope to have our 200-page Bookmailer Guide to American Books ready for the presses. It will be priced to retail at $0.50. As always, it will be free to our customers as part of the $1.00 annual subscription to the Bookmailer News. Both the Guide, and the News, will continue to list and review books of every political complexion. We will feature books we think you should know about, and read. But we will not be guilty, as are some prominent book review media, of refusing to list or review books expounding a viewpoint with which we are not sympathetic. We will, instead, make a special effort to list and review those books which get the "silent" treatment at the hands of other publications.

The Bookmailer began just six years ago, as an idea, and with a hotel desk-drawer as a file. We will continue, as a corporation, with the same idea—to supply any U.S. published book (except pocketbooks) which is sold at retail in U.S. bookstores. We will pay the postage, to any post office address in the world. We absorb all costs of procurement, packaging and surface mail postage. You never pay more than the bookstore price. These absorbed costs are your discount every time you buy from The Bookmailer.

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Good reading!

THE BOOKMAILER

VOL. 3 | 15 April 1958 | No. 5

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Jackson (Michigan, $1.65), Allen Tate has adapted the novel's methods to a real man's life. Jackson is thus not so much chronicled as recreated, and his astringently manly personality never discussed so much as demonstrated, dramatically. We know him because we have seen him, speaking, praying, catching fish, riding his horse. To manage this, and within the complex strictures of historical fact, is a very rare accomplishment, and quite apart from its nimble prose, leaves this book in a class by itself. Yet here, too, it is the breathing love of the author for his hero, his undidactic but explicit committal on every page to what Jackson was and stood for, that makes it the only kind of biography that counts.

Neither Gertrude von Schwarzenfeld's *Charles V* (Regnery, $6.50) nor Louis Bouyer's *Newman* (Kenedy, $7.50) is in any sense an official, comprehensive life of its subject. On the contrary, Mrs. von Schwarzenfeld assures us that her fascinating book began as "the diary of a journey in Spain. . . . But wherever I went the personality of Charles V met me and impressed itself so vividly on my mind that my notes gradually evolved into a kind of history." She begins at the El Escorial monastery, to which Charles retired after he had abdicated in 1555 to "end his days in the practice of holiness"; and there, as she examines the ex-Emperor's room, the view from his windows, the books in his library, she thoughtfully reconstructs his temperament and motives. As she moves out over Spain, everything she encounters — landscapes, the Prado, people in the streets—becomes a further occasion for her to meditate not only on the life of the last Emperor who believed in "the idea of universality," but on her own growing conviction that "Europe has to be put together again and welded into a whole, loyal once more to the old common Christian values."

Father Bouyer takes an equally partial view of Newman. Though his book does make use of material at the Birmingham Oratory which has never been drawn upon before, its value is greater than documentary. Again, a passionate author is avowed on every page a man who is wholly partisan, and as capable of bearing witness as Newman himself. Like Mrs. von Schwarzenfeld, Father Bouyer addresses us out of what he believes, lives for, and candidly wishes to persuade us of. He is not afraid, shy, embarrassed, prissy. He is just there, intelligently, unobstreperously talking. It is possible to disagree with him. But it is never possible not to be able to hear him.

To order any book reviewed in this issue, write:

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

I WAS A SAVAGE, by Prince Modupe (Harcourt, $3.95). Written in a highly sophisticated English, spotted with factitious barbarisms (*e.g.*, "my heart would satisfy with much ivory"), this book is presented as the autobiography of the son of a chieftain of the So-So tribe in French West Africa. The atmosphere of this tale of life in the jungle so frequently reminds one of Chateaubriand's *Les Natchez* that one may fairly infer a comparable determination to romanticize the primitive. But this does not impair the validity of the author's demonstration that the forms of Occidental life merely distress and demoralize the members of races to whom the spiritual essence of Occidental culture must forever remain incomprehensible. Anyone interested in the welfare of African and Asiatic natives, therefore, should strive to halt American "aid" to "underdeveloped areas," and should urge our bureaucrats to find other sinks down which to pour the blood that they drain from the arteries of our economic life.

R. P. OLIVER

MR. FIVE PER CENT, by Ralph Hewins (Rinehart, $4.00). The Gulbenkian family has furnished Mr. Hewins with enough material to make a fascinating character study of the mysterious "Mr. Five Per Cent," one of the richest men the world has ever known. Calouste Gulbenkian created the mammoth Iraq Petroleum Company, receiving five per cent of its royalties for life, a net of several millions per week. He grasped the political importance of oil far ahead of his time and played a significant part in seeing to it that Iraq oil was made available to the Allied Powers during the Second World War. "Mr. Five Per Cent" was not ashamed of his wealth. His insistence on privacy was not due to fear of exciting envy or guilt, but rather because the outward trappings of success were not necessary to him. He regarded the creation of wealth in itself as a fulfillment of his purpose in life, a contribution to the progress of mankind—the bigger, the better. This is why he hated waste and extravagance in any form and counted every penny despite his millions a week. It is also why he hated idleness and worked until he was more than eighty-five; why he despised frivolity and why he quarreled ostentatiously with his only son.

E. K. ROOSEVELT

EZRA TAFT BENSON: MAN WITH A MISSION, by Wesley McCune (Public Affairs Press, $2.50). This seems at first glance to be a sympathetic biography of the much harried Administration leader; but it falls into the category of just another political assault upon the whipping boy of the Republican Party—Ezra Taft Benson. The attacks against Benson are so commonplace that this trivial book should (and undoubtedly will) drop quickly by the wayside.

J. H. BECK

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To the Editor

The Grand Jury Reconvenes

When judgment is finally rendered in the Grand Jury case of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. I hope there will be a thorough investigation over the causes for its long and inexplicable delay. . . .

Boston, Mass. KENNETH D. ROBERTSON JR.

"If at first you don't succeed, try, try again."

Congratulations!

Detroit, Mich. CHARLES J. WEBER

I am delighted that your pounding on the Powell theme is bringing results. It just goes to prove that your kind of thumping journalism brings results. It points up also the strength inherent in holding to a minimum of issues rather than scattering the conservative fire. . . .

Arlington, Va. THOMAS B. QUINN

Thanks very much for your work on the Adam Powell matter. This thing would have been covered up without your work. . . .

Omaha, Neb. WILLIAM E. MOONEY

A Jingoist Turns Pacifist

For a long time the menace of a bombardment of Great Britain with hydrogen bombs by Soviet Russia has clouded the thoughts of the British public to the exclusion of other problems. The opponents of the present Conservative Government denounce Mr. Macmillan for failing to arrive at an agreement with Mr. Khrushchev to ban the use of all atomic weapons. Two world wars with Germany have exhausted the capacity of the average man-in-the-street to feel hatred: expression of resentment against Russia is rare. Pathetically he clings to the hope that the Russian Communists may not really be as brutal and unreliable as accounts describe them. If he feels no hatred for the Russians, he certainly feels no love for the Americans. He has not forgotten that the British Empire, of which he was once so proud, was sacrificed in deference to the prejudices of President Roosevelt against "colonialism."

But while most people seem agreed that what Mr. Macmillan has done is wrong, hardly anyone has told us what he should have done. One of these few is Sir Stephen King-Hall, who has just published a book entitled *"Defence in the Nuclear Age"* (Gollancz, London, 1958). The policy advocated in this book is at least clear and simple.

King-Hall advocates that Great Britain should join with the other states of Western Europe in a program of total disarmament. At the same time a joint pledge should be given by all the European states to the Soviet Union that in the event of Russia's seeing fit to occupy Europe, no appeal for assistance would be made to the United States. Reliance should be placed on organizing in advance systematic passive resistance. The knowledge that their forces would be faced by such a resistance, King-Hall thinks, would in itself prevent the Kremlin authorities from occupying Europe. If an occupation did, however, take place, King-Hall thinks that the nerves of the occupying forces would soon give way when subjected to the frigid disapproval of the unarmed civilian population around them.

This is indeed in itself a novel and strange proposal, but it is utterly astonishing from the pen of Sir Stephen King-Hall, who in the years before the Second World War was foremost among those who advocated implacable resistance to Germany. Twenty years ago King-Hall never ceased to urge that it was the inescapable duty of the people of Britain to fight to the last drop of their blood to defend the right of the Czechs to rule the Sudeten Germans, to prevent the reunion of Dantzig with Germany and to uphold in its entirety the Treaty of Versailles. He denounced any attempt to come to an amicable agreement as "appeasement."

But now, far from advocating an heroic resistance to the invaders, he condemns the use of physical violence of any kind. There should, King-Hall says, be no resistance movements, no sabotage. Only silent disapproval and polite but firm refusal to cooperate.

Some people in Europe and America may venture to doubt if this is quite a practical policy. Fortunately it is easily within Sir Stephen King-Hall's power to dispel all such doubts. All he need do is to get to Hungary or to East Berlin, to Breslau or to Rumania, and there to set about organizing a campaign of passive resistance. If in due course occupying forces slink away home from the reproachful glances of the people about them, then it will certainly be well worth while to give serious consideration to his proposal.

Brighton, England F. J. P. VEALE

St. Chris Sins in Space?

"What's that thing that keeps flashing overhead day and night, Mike?"

"Why I'm surprised at you, not knowing the answer to that!"

"Is it a plane?"

"No."

"Is it one of our satellites?"

"Not exactly. It's a St. Christopher medal."

"Well, when did the Vatican start experimenting in rocketry?"

"The Vatican didn't send that up. We did."

"We?"

"Yes! The United States."

"Well, say now, this is NEWS."

"Don't get the wrong idea. The government didn't pay for the medal. That came from private funds. All the government did was to use one of its little Vanguard rockets to shoot it up."

"So the Navy is shooting up saints now. I'll bet there'll be some gentle warnings come out of this about maintaining our First Amendment guarantee of Church and State separation. As a matter of fact, I just might write NATIONAL REVIEW about this. They've come out with forthright statements in the past on constitutional questions. I'll bet they will want to go on record as opposed to ANY crumbling of that wall between Church and State."

"You're wrong there, my friends. Their April 5 issue came out with favorable comment about that St. Christopher medal overhead. What's

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more, they slipped the knife between the ribs of one of the foremost defenders of the separation principle [Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam]."

"That's hard to believe. I knew that plenty of the unprincipled left smeared their opponents that way, but in the past NATIONAL REVIEW has stuck to objective reporting of the facts. . . . I'm disillusioned! I didn't think NATIONAL REVIEW would go off on ridicule and smear tangents. And against a man they may have some bones to pick with him in other areas, but not in this one. Say . . . I wonder if NATIONAL REVIEW's editors have been blinded by the brilliance of that medal?"

College Park, Md. JAMES S. VAN NESS

[Evidently. Poor St. Christopher! It turns out he's unconstitutional, whereas Bishop Oxnam is not. Ah well, exile has its compensations. At least St. Christopher-on-Vanguard can, with greater assurance than the Bishop's, sing "Nearer My God to Thee." ED.]

Louisianan Agrees

Your article "Southern Republican Blues" [May 3] is the finest, most intelligent appraisal of the Southern political situation that I've ever read. These are the facts, Harry Ashmore and Hodding Carter notwithstanding!

New Orleans, La. KATHERINE B. MOORE

Anti-Anti-Fallout-Out

I am badly mixed up over recent rapid developments. What I would like to know is this: If an anti-anti-Communist should perfect an anti-anti-ABCD anti-nuclear missile-missile, would no anti-peace-loving aggressor then be able to prevent an anti-preventive war?

If so, what would be the fallout per capita and whom would we fall out with?

Washington, D.C. ELLIS O. JONES

WILL THEY GET STRAUSS?

(*Continued from p. 467*)

case, Oppenheimer was a stool pigeon.

Not only did he give Chevalier's name to the cops—after just enough suspense to whet their appetites, but he now says (and his adherents insist) that the whole story in which he involved the name was a "fabrication and tissue of lies." For this, Haakon Chevalier was hounded out of the country while Robert Oppenheimer lived amid the plaudits of the rich and famous. In the Legion of Honor, they tell me, an Officer outranks a Chevalier.

There is in the files a memorandum of September 14, 1953, concerning a conversation between Oppenheimer and Groves in which the former "stated while he did not know, he believed his brother Frank Oppenheimer had at one time been a member of the Communist Party."

"While he did not know, he believed" protected himself, but was as damaging to his brother as if he had said he did know—as he did. There are other cases where Oppenheimer sang like a canary, Mr. Block, to the cops about his friends.

When the Oppenheimer case is studied from the point of view of international destiny the mind is filled with images of fallen angels and shining darkness, and it is impossible to suppress impulses of pity and admiration. The man's verbal style can touch sublimity. It was Oppenheimer who said, "The answer to fear cannot always lie in the dissipation of the causes of fear; sometimes it lies in courage."

But glimpses of his private world suggest the abyss. Whether he has betrayed his country may always be moot; what appears to be certain is that he has repeatedly abandoned men, and women, who personally depended on him.

The renomination and reconfirmation of Lewis Strauss as AEC Chairman would not be in question had it not been for the Oppenheimer case. Other pretended objections to Strauss are red herrings. The tedious Dixon-Yates affair, the factitious alarm over personal power, the Great Fear over fallout—these are respectively immaterial, untrue, and irrelevant. What matters is that Strauss challenged Oppenheimer and won—twice. This is why such influential journalists as the Alsops have attacked Strauss in the language of fanaticism and malice. This is also why we can still—so far—overmatch Soviet power.

Lewis L. Strauss epitomizes 1) the successful American businessman, and 2) the officer with a sworn duty to defend his country. He has, into the bargain, vision. It is fair to say that without him the present defenses of this country would not exist.

Churchill observed that ingratitude is a mark of strong nations. But that is when the storm is over. We are still in peril. It is no time to drop the pilot.

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SPEAKERS FOR the May 26 Crusade for America forum will be Wm. F. Buckley Jr., and L. Brent Bozell. To receive full information, write Crusade for America, 51 Front St., Rockville Center, L.I., N.Y.

THE TRUTH ABOUT "Soviet Education: Myth and Fact," by Eugene Lyons. Reprints available 15¢ each, 100 for $10.00. Write Dept. R, National Review, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

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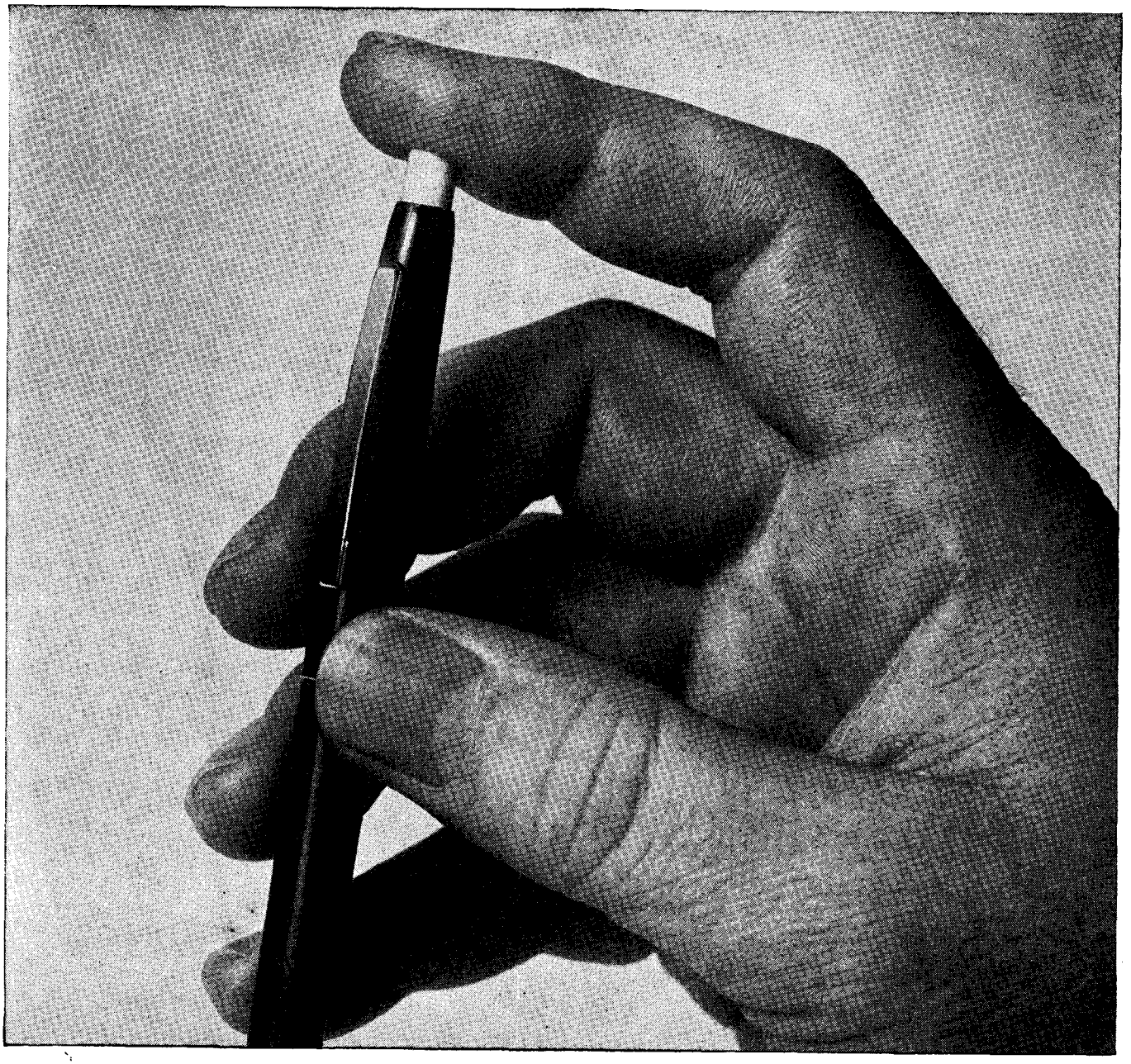

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A Plea for Sanity!

By the National Committee for Unconditional Nuclear Surrender

Fellow Traveler (Along Life's Highway, that is):

Nothing is permanent. The moral values of 1776 have suited their time, but we must live in the world as it is today. We cannot remake it or change human nature (except through the United Nations).

States as well as individuals are part of the World Community, the Grand Design. National sovereignty and patriotism must give way to the concept of a higher loyalty: Peace.

Let's face it. What *are* "Liberty," "Justice," and "Truth," except words? Is not Survival more precious than mere words? We have it on the authority of All Reputable Scientists that if these insane nuclear tests continue, the population of the world will be decimated before the next Summit Meeting. (We must, of course, expect carping dissent from Disreputable Scientists.)

Warmongers will try to point out that nine of our sponsors belong to a number of Front Groups. What is the relevancy of this hobby? What earthly connection a man's personal beliefs has with his Personal Beliefs is beyond us.

There is no true security. We have seen the fate of Hungary, East Germany and Poland. Don't assume that we will have a privileged sanctuary if adventurers are allowed to lead us down the road of outmoded Self-Defense. The only thing to be terrified of is Terror itself.

We must step up our efforts for peace. We must stop nuclear tests NOW.

Remember. Survival is an American Tradition.

Sponsors of the Committee

Harrison Twitchpate, Vice Chairman, Council for Unreciprocal Understanding

Terrence Flail, Honorary President, Committee for Freedom of Assembly Except Neanderthal Groups.

Brig. Gen. LeRoy Frisk, Ret., Executive Director, United Friends of Utopia

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We Are Not Alone

Read what other eminent Humanitarians say about this uncontrived, spontaneous movement

Dr. Osgood Tremor, noted historian: "I wonder if Nathan Hale would have stood up so well against an atom bomb."

Prof. Clarence Shrill, lecturer on invertebrates: "Be spineless! Stop our nuclear tests!"

Mumford Tetherflip, Editor, *Daily Peace*: "There are no enemies—only misunderstood friends."

Springleaf Marvel, author of *Nations Should Be Obsolete*: "Nuclear war is unthinkable. So let's not think about it. Put all your faith in world government."

Selznick Mauvre, bacteriologist, weight lifter and savant: "Is the Hot-Foot of Cynicism the way to greet the Soviet Hand of Friendship?"

Adele Quavering, author of *What's the Use*: "What's the use?"

Phineas Drowse, elder statesman: "Hysteria should not be confused with HYSTERIA."

Dean Launcelot Falter, winner of the 1957 Peace Prize for his essay on Hungary: "It will not permanently harm the world to live temporarily under tyranny."

National Committee for Unconditional Nuclear Surrender
55 Double-Deal Concourse
Sellout, New York

I, ... who am in full possession of my faculties, and have an affidavit to prove it, am promptly sending $..... as my contribution toward advancing the cause of Sanity and Survival. I agree with you fully that our Middle-of-the-Road policy only goes 50 per cent of the way toward compromise with principle. With Better Planning, the Planned Retreat could become an Orderly Rout. Rest assured that I shall fight tooth and nail for Peace.

ACT!
While There Is Yet Time!

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Sign and mail the letter below!
Write to everybody!
Learn to speak Russian!
Organize your community!
Talk to your friends!
Send more money!

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House, Washington, D.C.
Dear Mr. President:

I strongly urge you to agree to Premier Khrushchev's proposal to ban nuclear tests. Now more than ever before can we trust the Russians, who have completed all the tests they need at present.

This way, Mr. President, even if the Russians do launch a sneak nuclear attack, our stock in world opinion will go up. Everybody knows that what the uncommitted nations really go for is a good loser.

Mankind is looking to you, as leader of the Free World, to end once and for all the atmosphere of hysteria which plagues both sides of the Iron Curtain!

Sincerely,

.....

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